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A LETTER FROM EDINBURGH,

Containing a true and perfite Relation of all the Paſſages and Proceedings of the late Army, raiſed in Scotland; By order of Parliament: for the Proſecuting of the Ends of the League and Covenant, concerning Religion, Libertie, and His Majeſties Lawfull Authority, by the Well-affected Subjects of that Kingdom, Showing the Progreſſe thereof, from the beginning of the Engagement: unto the end of that unfortunate Expedition.

Written by an Eye-witnes, who was both an Actor, and Inſpector of all Mens Carriages, in the march unitll the Deroute of the Army.

To a Friend at London, for the better Information of all thoſe who deſire to know the plain Truth.

Printed 12 of November, 1648.

SIR,

BEeing now by the providence of God, got out of the reach of rigour, and fearing neither the doggednesse of a Iaylour nor the Voyage of Barbadoes; but Enjoying the freedome of my former life, and the companie of my Friends, knowing also how great a desire you have to hear of me, both in my own particular Fortune, and Successe of that late Unfortunate Army in the North, I acknowledge my self bound in duety to Satisfie your longing, and give you a true and perfite Relation of the Progresse and Event of that Expedition, But shall remit the Story of mine own Adventures and return, unto another occasion, it beeing but of small moment, and the other so necessary to be known of every one who loves Truth, of which I may freely say; I can tell as much as any private Person that was in the Journey, for beeing an Eye-witnes and Actor from the first Levying of the Troupes, unto the day of the Desaster, and having haunted the Chief Commanders for my better Information of what past in the Army, I can the more assuredly give you an exact accompt of the most Materiall Passages in that Expedition, Wherein I protest before God, I shall strip my self of all Passion and Partialitie, for the discharge of my Conscience; and defence of the Truth, to give you this free and following Narration, Whatsoever malice may perhaps have blown abroad to Poyson the Seduced people with misreports.

I shall not here insist upon the opposition made in the Parliament of Scotland against the Levie, nor the Jealousie that possest some, in the choice of the Commanders, as perhaps beeing men who had their own ends, or aspired to that Domination which others had long Vsurped, and would be loath to lay down again, both parties still pretending the keeping of the Covenant, and that Jealousie was Fomented by the Ministrie, which every day preached against the Engagement, There was also a Partie, which not siding with any of the other two, pressed the calling

home of the Prince, ſo to decide all differences, & prevent heart-burning in the point of Command, at which time alſo a black cloud in the Weſt did threaten a Deludge to deſtroy the good deſigne, but that was ſoon Diſſipate by the wiſedome and valour of the Earle of Calander, Leivetenant Generall of the Army, and Middleton Leivetenant Generall of the Horſe at Machlinmoore, by order from the Lord Duke Hamilton. And not long after His Grace receaved order from the Committee of Eſtates, to march ſpeedily to the English border, for ſecuring of Carlile, and oppoſing of Major Generall Lambert, mean while all the ſtrong holds of the Kingdom as Edinburgh, Sterling, Dumbarton, and the reſt were yet in the hands of the well-affected Partie, (as was ſuppoſed) or might have been eaſily ſecured, But what difficulties were made concerning the Forces in Ireland, led by Generall Major George Monro, for the finding of moneyes to pay and tranſport them, it beeing reſolved they ſhould be under the Command of the Earle of Crawford Lindſay Treaſurer, I need not to relate, and therefore to begin my Journall, take it thus.

About the beginning of July, His Grace appointed a Rendevous at Annan; where the ſmall number that reſorted at firſt made us ſtay ſome few dayes. Upon the 8 We entered England, and quartered that night at Rokliff, the next day the Army marched by Carlile, and quartered at Thursby, there the Generall receiving the keyes of the Town, and Caſtle, from Sir Philip Muſgrave, went up into the Caſtle, and gave order our ammunition ſhould be left there, though the cuſtody of both was ſtill in the hands of the English, for ſome few dayes, which showed how great confidence he had in them, at Thursby diverſe horſe and foot of ours came unto us and we heard that ſome, both horſe and foot were come over out of Ireland, landed in Galloway, and marching toward Dumfries, there alſo we ſaw Sir Marmaduck Langdalls foot, and one Troup of horſe, which were all proper men, Generall Major Lambert was then at Penreth, toward which upon Fryday the 14 we advanced, but were benighted & came ſhort 2 or 3 miles,

miles, yet having got two horſemen priſoners, diſcovered the Enemy, and ſo poſing our guards it beeing very late, we quartered there. Next morning early our Cavalrie advanced (the weather beeing very rainie) and the foot following, found that Lambert with his Forces was retired that night towards Appleby (in which Caſtle he had a gariſon,) our intention was to overtake his Rear, but we were informed that they were for certain at Appleby, before we were two miles paſt Penreth, Which made us ſtay and quarter there that night, and the next day which was Sunday, upon Moonday ſetting forward toward Appleby with our horſe, We diſcovered a body of Lamberts Cavalrie, which being preſt upon by ſome of ours, was forced to retire within the barricade near unto the bridge at Appleby, which our folks could not force for want of the foot, whom the rain and waters did extreamlie hinder in their march; the Enemy having his foot at the barricade neither could our horſe paſſe the River to reach Lamberts Army which was on the other ſide, by reaſon of the great inundation through exceſſive raines, in the evening ſome few foot came up to us, and we endeavouring to gain the Bridge were prevented by night, ſome few of each ſide beeing killed and hurt, amongſt whom Colonell Hariſon of theirs was wounded, and the Earle of Calander receaved a muſquet ſhot upon his left ſide, that night our Cavalrie remained on the fields, and Sir Marmaduck Langdalls foot came up, but ours ſtayed at Kirby-Thure, that ſame night alſo Lambert marched over Stain-moore. Leaving yet a gariſon in Appleby Caſtle, before which Sir Marmaduck with his foot, lay down till the Surrender thereof, during which time, Sir Thomas Tilſley had a Commiſſion given him, for the raiſing of Forces in Lancashire, out of Furnis, and their-abouts, the next day the Duke ſent back freely a Lievetenant to Lambert who had been taken the day before, and diſpoſing the horſe into ſeverall quarters we ſtayed there a fortnight waiting for our Cannon ammunition and meall, while we ſtayed at Kirby-Thure, it was much preſt that the Irish Forces might joyn with us, and the

Cannon be left behind which was not verie conſiderable beeing but 4 ſix pound balls, and 2 twelve, in the Counſell of warre alſo it was debated whither the Army should march into Yorkshire, to follow Lambert, or through Lancashire, which was a plentifull Country, and into which our ammunition might with greater ſafety come unto us, the other being waſted and ſpoiled by the Enemy, at laſt it was reſolved to march into Lancashire, it was likewiſe propounded to put the Kingdom of Scotland in a Poſture of defence, by raiſing of an Army to be commanded by the Earle of Lanrick. From Kirby-Thure we marched in two dayes to Kendall, where Generall Major George Monro a valiant and worthie commander (whoſe courage and conduct in the warres of Ireland, have with credit gained him an honourable name,) came unto us, and the Duke was again deſired thoſe Forces from Ireland might joyn with us, but what anſwer or order was given to Monro, himſelf beſt knowes, howſoever he returned to his own Forces, and we marched from Kendall to Hornby in Lancâshire, and there again upon debate of the quartering of the horſe, which was extreamly ſtraited, it was ordained they should march under the command of the Earle of Calander and Middleton, leaving two brigades of horſe, and the Dukes own leiff-guard to remain with him, upon the rear of the Foot: and the Irish Forces, with Monro, were again urged to be joyned with the Army, by showing what danger they might incurre, He marching by the Enemies gariſons and from Skipton, if they should fall in betwixt him and us, which was of more conſequence then the leaving of the Cannon, We having found the wickednes of the way ſo troubleſome for carriages, that night the Cavalrie paſt by the Town of Lancaſter, and quartered at Garſtang, which was upon the 13 of Auguſt, the next morning, I ſaw his Grace, and the Earle of Calander, upon a hill, near Lancaſter, into which he had ſent Sir Thomas Tilſleys folk who were playing with their Muſquets upon the Caſtle, and after conference, the Earle of Calander returned to his quarter at Garſtang.

Upon

Upon the 15 Sir Marmaduck Langdall, gave notice to Calander and Middleton who were then quartered at Blackburn of the Enemies advancing toward Skipton, and to the Duke alſo, as Calander likewiſe did, whereupon the next morning Calander and Middleton, meeting with Sir Marmaduck, at the Earle Marſhalls quarter, ſome 5 or 6 miles above Preſton, he confirmed the intelligence of the Enemies advance, and deſired quarters nearer Preſton, which was granted, and order given to the Lord Levingſton to remove his brigade, as he did, drawing into a field, where the foot was thought to have been, as was concluded before at Hornby, that night Middleton returned to Blackburn, and Calander going to finde the Duke, whom he ſuppoſed to be at Preſton according as was reſolved, by the way was informed that he was 3 miles ſhort of it, and quartered at Broughtoun with the foot, which should have been a Preſton that night, which fault was the main ground of all our misfortune, at laſt Calander comming to the Dukes quarter late, shew him of Sir Marmaducks drawing nearer Preſton, and of the order given to thoſe Regiments of the Lord Levingſtouns Brigade to do the like, and how his Grace was expected there with the Army, ſeeing the ſafety thereof, depended wholly thereupon, the horſe being quartered on the other ſide, toward Whiggin (except thoſe two brigades, were left with him,) the Duke anſwered that he could not get carriages for the ammunition, Calander told him of the enemies advancing, & that ſome of them had been ſeen among their friends, as alſo by ſome Parties of Horſe who were ſent out to diſcover, the Duke confeſt he had notice of it, but is was then late, and they should ſpeak of it to morrow, But whither that ſecuritie proceeded from a confidence, or weaknes, in a Generall God knowes. Next morning Calander comming to him, asked where the Armie was, he anſwered that they marched timely in the morning, and he thought by that time they were the length of Preſton; (where they should have been the day before) afterward Calander asked him where were theſe two brigades of horſe which

were left with him, he ſaid hee had given them no orders, and that they were ſtill lying in their quarters, not having ſent any ordinance Ruyters to receave order, Whereupon I heard Calander ſay, he much admired his Grace had cauſed the Foot to march, and not ſent order expreſſe to the horſe which marched with him, though they had been wanting in that point, Seeing his own ſafety and the Armies, was ſo deeply intereſt into it, and immediatly Calander ſent two expreſſe (leaſt the Enemy should fall in betwixt them, as they did:) with orders to thoſe brigades, to march to Preſton, and joyn with the foot, which nevertheles, they could not, after breakfaſt the Duke called for his horſe, it beeing about nine a-clock, and as he was going to get up, Sir Marmaduck came, where I heard Calander ſay, your Grace is too far from your Army, get on before he light, which he did, & ſo they ſaluted on horſe-back riding towards the Army, within twice twelve ſcore, one came and told Sir Marmaduck, that the Enemy was falling upon his rear, (you muſt know that he had ſtill marched upon our left hand, from his quartering at Settle and Sigelſwyk) and thereupon they all fell a galloping, untill they came near Preſton, to the entry of the lane upon the end of the moore, where they found Leivetenant Generall Baylie, with the Foot, drawn up in battle, and all the baggage by him, yet a little before we came to the foot, we were told it was but a miſtake, though shortly after the Enemy did appear, and fell a skirmishing with Sir Marmaducks rear, when Calander Baylie and Colonell Turner comming to the Duke, after ſome diſcourſe amongſt them, order was given to the Foot to paſſe the bridge, ſome of the Enemies horſe showing themſelves upon the heath on our left hand. Then the Earle of Calander deſired the Duke to ſend for Middleton with the Cavalrie, and whilſt the foot were marching, the Duke thought fit to leave three brigades upon the moore to favour Sir Marmaducks retreat, which Calander deſired his Grace to conſider, and that commanded muſquetiers would be better in thoſe narrow lanes, whereof the beſt both of

Officer

Officers & Souldiours might be piked out, and ſo they were and Calander commanded out 500 Muſquetiers to line the hedges and 600 more further down towards the end of the bridge, (if the enemies horſes should advance) and a brigade conſiſting of the Earle of Roxburghs regiment, and Colonell Tours to favour Sir *M*armaducks retreat, on the other hand two parties of Horſe were commanded out of thoſe few troupes we had to diſcover the enemies advance which left but few remaining, by reaſon of a partie had been ſent to Sir Marmaduck at his own deſire, the two brigades not beeing come up, for the Lord Levingſtouns brigade being preſt by the enemy had paſt the water marching down on the other ſide towards Preſton bridge, where he came about two of the clock in the after-noon, and having ſent before to receave orders the Duke commanded one Glaſſe who did the duety of Quarter-maſter Generall, to give out quarters for his brigade in ſuch Towns as he named, and that after ſight of the billet hee should march to his quarter, there was likewiſe, afterward another hundred commanded which the Earle of Calander deſired might ſtay untill they ſaw whether the enemy did advance toward the moore, in regard there were ſo few horſe there (the word and ſign beeing then given) but ſeeing none advanced, that hundred horſe with the ſame officers was ſent to Sir Marmaduck, beſides 200 muſquetiers which had been ſent before; though undemanded of him, but the Scots foot and baggage were ſo long in marching and paſſing the narrow lane and bridge as ſpent much time, and ammunition, Sir Marmaduck ſending twice or thrice for ſupplie of ammunition which he had, the Duke remained ſtill on the head of thoſe few horſe never viſiting Sir Marmaducks poſt, but Calander riding to and again, betwixt the horſe and foot where the moſt eminent danger did appear, went up to Sir Marmaduck to know what he wanted (though he had no intereſt in his Army) the other thanked him kindly and deſired to know if the whole Army was paſt, Calander told him it was very near, Whereupon Sir Marmaduck entreated him that he might know

of it and Calander assured him he should do it, thereafter it was my fortune to be near the Duke, when Calander came to him, his Grace asked where he had been, and why he did not stay upon the head of the horse, he answered that he did not conceive the greatest danger to be there in regard the enemies horse did not advance.

But let me here stay a little, while the foot and baggage are passing the bridge to consider the reasons given for this Resolution, our Cavalrie being far distant, and the enemie according to Sir Marmaducks intelligence, beeing said to have divided his Forces, whereof some part was marched toward Colne & Manchester, was it not likelie that Sir Marmaduck was able to deall with them having betwixt 3 and 4 thousand foot, and 7 or 8 hundred horse, with the assistance of some of our horse which was marching towards us? Or say, was it fit to expose our foot having no horse but a handfull to the enemies whole Cavalrie and Foot, Upon a flat campagne or moore if his intelligence was false? His Graces great judgement and long experience (having been twice before a Generall, by sea and land, at home and abroad; together with his earnest desire of that command, notwithstanding the advice of his friends to the contrary, and the jealousie that possessed all men of him, which rather kindled then quenche the fire of his high spirit full of his own sufficiency) was no question capable to weigh any counsell in the scales of Reason, whether it were of valour to be taken or not, and therefore I may say in all freedome who ever gave it, was no raw nor fresh-water souldiour, however the end proved, and now the foot and baggage beeing almost past the bridge, the Earle of Calander drew the Troupes nearer unto it within the lane, where he and Colonell Turner (I fortuned to be with them for the time also) riding back to the Townes end of Preston toward the bridge, we found a Troup returning from thence upon sight of us, whereat we wondered untill by their armes and sign, (which was a green bough) We perceaved them to be enemy (for ours was white) Whereupon the

Earle

Earle of Calander called to the Muſquetiers to give fire, which though they did not upon the order, yet the Enemy hearing retreated within the lane, and himſelf advancing gave fire with his piſtoll upon them and they faced about, So he and I parted about this time I was informed that Captain Watſone who commanded the Dukes lieff-guard of horſe doth affirm that he beeing on Preſtoun-moore perceiving the enemies horſe to be drawing out of an narrow lane into the moore where they ſtood, he went to his Grace who was cloſe by and shew him of it beſeeching him to give them leave to charge the enemy before they should be in order, hoping with that advantage, to give him an accompt of them, but contrair to his expectation the Duke in paſſion commanded him not to looſe a piſtoll upon no pretext whatſoever, I riding afterward towards the bridge, heard a great noiſe behind me, the enemy turning again toward the Town and all our people running, comming near I found ſome ſtragglers and baggage horſe, and after a little while Calander came alone, his horſe much ſpent & wearied, who gave preſently order to Rally theſe ſtragglers and rode himſelf and brought Kelheads Regiment of foot which was upon the rear and laid the muſquetiers into ſome dry ditches near the bridge, the pikes he placed in the moſt Advantageous ground, the enemy advanced preſently but our men giving fire upon them they retired again to purſue the reſt of our people, who had quited their ground, We not having any Horſe and Baylie beeing with the foot upon a hill, half a mile diſtant from the bridge on the other ſide of the water, then came one to the Earle of Calander telling him that the enemy was paſſing the River, below the bridge at a Church, whereupon giving order to Kelhead to make good that poſt, promiſing to ſupplie him with fresh men, if it were needfull: and having ſent before to Baylie for 300 muſquetiers he met them by the way as he was going to the Church and ſent Leivetenant Colonell Halſt with one hundred and fresh ammunition to the bridge, another hundred he left upon a little hill betwixt the bridge and the Army, and the third he

took along to the Church where it was ſaid that the enemy was paſſing, where beeing come he found no ſuch thing, then leaving ſome to man the Church-yard he and Colonell Turner, came back and heard that they were paſſing above which made them rerire to the Leagger where they met the Duke (who told them how narrowly he had eſcaped, and almoſt been taken priſoner, in the Town of Preſton) and there they were again told of the Enemies paſſing above, the Earle of Calander preſently called for horſe, it was long before any came: And theſe few only of the Lord Kenmoores, with which he drew down to the bridge to ſecond the foot, but the third time beeing advertiſed that they were paſſing above the bridge, he drew towards the place, and ſending out three horſemen before, followed with the reſt, till on the way thoſe three returning told him there was no ſuch matter, but only ſome of our own ſtragglers paſſing which were routed on the other ſide, and comming back toward the bridge: he found that the enemy had forced it after a long and hard diſpute through the advantage of the ground and cover of houſes and hedges, whereas on our ſide it was very low and no ſhelter at all, and was purſuing of our folks toward the Leagger, which made him cauſe a houſe bee ſet on fire in their way a little below the Leagger, about a muſquet ſhot, The day being near ſpent a ſmall party of the enemy paſſing by the ſecond bridge followed up the hill within a lane where the Duke, Calander, Baylie, and many other Officers were ſtanding on the other ſide of the hedge within the foot Leagger, the muſquetiers having order to give fire, they preſently retreated but we had no horſe to follow; Kenmoores Regiment beeing retired behind the foot, then a counſell was called, where the Duke, Calander, Baylie, Colonell Turner, the Earle of Dumfries, the Lord Bargeny, and many other Officers were (Sir Lewis Dives was there likewiſe) there Calander enclyned to retire to a moore on this ſide of Wiggan, where we might expect our horſe and attend the enemy to fight them. But afterwards upon ſome conſideration finding the impoſſibility of tranſport-

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ing the ammunition hee altered his opinion (as I heard) and though the moſt part of the Votes run in that ſtrain yet he upon more mature deliberation, diſaſſented from it, proteſting he would bear no blame if things did not ſucceed according to his wish and reall intention. The Duke replyed it was concluded and too late to oppoſe, giving order to the Regiments to ſend for as much ammunition as they pleaſed, and that Calander ſhould march preſently with thoſe few horſe they had then there toward Standish-moore, the night beeing very dark, and the lanes narrow and deep, a Regiment of foot which was advanced before the horſe Rencountring, ſome of our own horſe who had been quartered with Middleton (and by ſome of the foot ſtragglers were ſuppoſed to be enemy; upon whom they gave fire) took the alarm ſo hot that many quited their armes, Whereupon Calander advanced and found them to be our own, ſo he marched on to the moore where he halted till it was day, (that night we left our ammunition) but before that it was day the Duke had paſt through the Troupes and was gone to Wiggan, where Calander and the Earle of Traquair went to him there he asking for Middleton, they told him they had no notice of him but that he was marched towards Preſton, and was in the Rear, and that the foot were advancing into the moore, showing alſo how neceſſary his preſence was to encourage the Souldiours after ſo ill fortune and hard marches as they had, Then he deſired Calander to draw them all up in battell upon the moore: & he would follow, which was ſtraightway done, & after ſome time the Duke came, Leivetenant Generall Middleton according to his order advancing toward Preſton, and not finding the Army retired after them, and the enemy falling upon his rear he repulſed them diverſe times, and forced them to give back, carrying himſelf moſt bravely like a gallant man, and wiſe commander, and came to the moore about ten a-clock, where he found the foot, and thoſe horſe they had with them drawn up, the Marques of Argyles Regiment and the dragoons were placed at the entry of the moore

to favour his retreat, and ſtaying there till two a-clock ſome ſmall parties of the enemy skirmishing, it was reſolved to march, the body of the horſe firſt leavying upon the rear of the foot, Generall Major Vandrosk, Leivetenant Colonell Iames Innes, and Leivetenant Colonell David Lindſay with ſome troupes of horſe, together with Argyles Regiment of foot, and Colonell Mills few dragoons, in this order the Army marched, and the Earle of Calandar, Middleton, Baylie, and Turner, ſtayed upon the moore, untill the moſt of them were marched into the lane, Middleton then advancing to the horſe, Calander remained till the whole rear of the foot was entred the lane, at which time hee had notice given him of the enemies advancing upon the right hand to fall in betwixt the horſe and foot, between there & Wiggan, upon the advertiſment he advanced to know the certainty, but it proved falſe in regard of ſome marish ground, and no appearance of Enemy there, afterward comming to Wiggan hee found the Duke, (of whom he went to receave orders) at the further end of the Town marching with the horſe, but by the ſtraitnes of the lane and narrownes of the bridge, together with the deepnes of the way, many of the foot which was extreamly wearied having before ſuffered hugely in the want of victuals was loſt, and the horſe were a long time in paſſing the water, ſo as night drew on when Middleton hearing of the enemy upon the Rear went back and there the Officers of the commanded Troupes of horſe behaving themſelves like brave men were moſt hurt and taken. The Duke ſending for Calander told him hee ſhould do well to march on with the Cavalrie to Warringtoun, where there was a paſſe and bridge of which he much feared the Enemy ſhould poſſeſſe themſelves, and ſo bring the Army into great inconveniences, a little after as he was marching, the Duke ſent him word he would yet ſpeak with him ſo he let the Troupes march on forward thorow the narrow lanes, (it beeing moonlight) and ſtayed till the Duke and Sir Marmaduck came up to him, there the Duke again showed him his apprehenſion of the

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Enemies ſeazing upon that paſſe from the neighbour Gariſons, willing him to march without ever halting untill he had made himſelf maſter of the ſame, Calander forth-with ſending a Partie before to diſcover the Enemy, and ſave the ſtragglers, from plundering by reaſon of the night, (ſome of Sir Marmaducks and ours alſo being gone out before) when we were within a mile of Warrington, we heard that the Enemy had taken in the Bridge, but upon the advance of our fore-troupes had again quited and was run away, before we entered the Town, the Duke and Sir Marmaduck came up, and there lighting his Grace ſent order to Leive tenant Generall Middleton, & Baylie, to advance thither, ſeeing the next day they were to march to White-Church; and ſo for the Peak, Calander gave order for the Horſe to Rendevous the next morning at the bridge, the moſt part beeing quartered on the other ſide, but betimes newes was brought that the Enemy had routed the Foot, though the Generall had not heard any thing from Baylie, nor Middleton, about eight aclock at the Rendevous, we heard that the Enemy was paſſing the River upon our left hand, Whereupon Calander ſent out a Partie to a foard, and a little after I ſaw the Duke march by, to the top of the hill where Sir Marmaducks Horſe were, and but few of the Scots Horſe were yet come to the Rendevous, there I heard the Earle of Calander ask Colonell Mill, if any of his Dragoons were come up, his anſwer was, none, by reaſon they were all diſperſed in the evening before, by this time Sir Marmaducks Troopes were marching off the hill, and Calander with his own three Troopes, and three of the Earle of Errolls, which were all verie weak retired to the top of the hill, where hee was told that orders were ſent to the Foot to make their own conditions, But let me here tell you, that I beleeve, if that had been propounded to Calander Hee would have been as refractary from it, as he was afterwards upon the like occaſion concerning the Horſe, there he was likewiſe told that the Duke was marched after Sir Marmaduck, and after ſome ſtay there, not hearing any thing

hee marched after the Duke, ſuppoſing the intelligence to be true, Sir Marmaduck marching ſtill on the Van, with his few Horſe, and his Rear beeing pretty-well advanced before the Scots horſe, ſome few of the Enemies Foot lying at a paſſe Sallyed out upon certain Stragglers of the Scots, but were preſently beat back by the Lord Levingſtoun; and Major Drummond, down to their Barricade, having loſt ſome, and others hurt; there Calander made ſome Troupers light from their horſes, and force their paſſage, thinking that to be the way, which was not, and therefore we took to the left hand, and followed Sir Marmaducks Troupes that were marched on with the Duke, about four miles further at a halt, Middleton came up alone, and after ſome conference returned, (with great diſcontent) to his Troupes showing that the Foot was yeelded up at Warrington, we were that night to quarter at White-Church, and upon the march I heard an Officer of qualitie, propound to the Earle of Calander, the neceſſity of thinking upon a Treaty, in regard of the Souldiours long and wearisome marches, they beeing in great diſorder and their horſes tired, which if he and Middleton would condeſcend unto, they put no queſtion but the Duke would likewiſe, but he abſolutely refuſed to hear of it, ſaying, they were yet a conſiderable body of Horſe with which they might shortly recover an Army of Foot, and that they were within a day and a halfs marching, of a place where they might be in ſafety to refresh themſelves and their Horſes, but upon the march we were ſo hindred with frequent, though falſe alarmes and halts, (no Enemy beeing near us, but Gariſons) that we came short of White-Church, 2 or 3 miles, and quartered in the fields that night near Malpas, in Cheſshire, where Sir Marmaduck, Calander, and Middleton, attended the Duke, reſolving from thence to march to Vtoxater and to ſo Ashburn, in the Peak, that night diverſe Officers left their Troupes, and rendred themſelves priſoners to the Enemy, which did much dishearten the Souldiours, diverſe Officers likewiſe of the Foot, who would not accept of

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the conditions which Leivetenant Generall Baylie made at Warrington, came up to the Cavalrie, the next day we marched about a mile beyond Drayton, and quartered in the fields, upon the 12 of Auguſt we marched toward Vtoxater, and comming near Stone a troup of the enemies which lay there, drew out upon the hill on our left hand, we ſaw alſo more troupes from Staffoord upon our right hand, there at a halt, what paines Calander and Middleton did take to get the diſorderly troupes, (whoſe diſcontent and diſobedience upon their Officers abandoning of them, had forgot all reſpect unto command) into order, and bring them under their ſtandards, can neither be expreſſed by me, nor imagined by thoſe who have never ſeen the like mutiny, yet at length they brought them to it. But by the way between the bridge and Stone, I ſaw Calander and Middleton come to the Duke, who shew them a letter he had receaved from the Committee of Shropshire, brought by two Committee men, the tenor of it was to give quarters to the Duke, and his people upon laying down of their armes, whereat they both did much wonder, that a Committee would offer any ſuch thing to an Army, they having no other Forces but their Gariſons, (but there was a whiſpering amongſt the troupers, that a trumpet had been ſent to the Enemy) Sir Marmaducks troupes having the Van marched thorow the Town, Calander with his next, and Middleton in the rear placing a guard on this ſide of Stone, till all were paſt, the Commiſſioners were appointed by the Duke, to ſtay and dine in the Town, upon a halt on the other ſide, I ſaw the Duke, Calander, Sir *M*armaduck, & Middleton, ſpeaking together where there came a Trumpet to them, from Staffoord, who belonged to ſome of thoſe who had rendred themſelves priſoners the night before, here a Trouper upon ſome queſtion shot Captain Gray, and was piſtold by publick order for it. So on we marched for Utoxater, Sir Marmaduck in the Van of all, the Duke in the Van of the Scottish horſe, Calander in the middle, and Middleton in the rear having marched about two miles in narrow lanes, (it began to

rain hugely) the Staffoord troupes beeing upon our rear, Middleton gave order to charge them, but ſome troupers repining ſaid it was nothing to bid charge, whereunto he replyed that it was not his cuſtome to be ſparing of himſelf upon any occaſian that was needfull, and therewithall bid them follow him, and charged like a gallant man, and wiſe commander, thereby to animate his diſcouraged horſemen, and show them a good example, in ſuch an extreamity, but beeing upon the ſide of a hill, and the ground exceeding ſlipperie thorow the great raines, his horſe fell and he was taken priſoner, and the night drawing on, the enemy retired being preſt by Colonell Lockhart, who was in the rear with him, the reſt of the horſe were drawn up upon a moore, where there came two Countrey Gentlemen to the Duke, but from whence or what they brought, I could not learn. Upon the notice of Middletons beeing taken, Calander faced about and marched to the rear, where ſpeaking to the ſouldiours, he deſired them now to do for the honour of their Nation, which then had ſo much ſuffered, and the recovery of ſo gallant a man, ſwearing to them never to leave them if they would but perform their part, and with that reſolution went on to reſcue Middleton untill he underſtood from Colonell Lockhart, that the Enemy was retired, Whereupon hee returned to the moore, where he halted untill the rear came up, before which time it was dark night, beeing then about 4 miles from Utoxater, unto which by reaſon of the darknes and foulnes of the way, it was very late before the troupes did come, quartering moſt upon the fields and ſtreets, next morning betimes Calander, and Sir Matmaduck, attended the Generall, who was a bed (becauſe of a pain in his leggs,) there he having heard before that Calander was marched away, with the moſt part of the horſe told it him, but Calander anſwered that he had not uſed to give any orders where his Grace was, but ſuch as he receaved from him, there it was debated what was next to be done, But then Sir Marmaduck shew the neceſſity of his

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marching when it was propounded to Capitulate, and that hee could expect no quarter, Calander alſo declared plainly that upon no tearms hee would conſent to a Capitulation, but ſuch Troupes or Troupers as would march with him he would undergo the ſame hazard with Sir Marmaduck, and they might follow him, which the Duke hearing, ſaid that he would not ſtay behind, and therewith Sir Marmaduck and Calander went to horſe, and gave order to the Troupes to draw out to a hill, about half a mile on the other ſide of the Town beyond the River, yet it was long before any conſiderable number came to the place, and Sir Marmaduck ſending to Calander, to know if he was ready, my Lord deſired him to have a little patience, but he ſent him back word that the day was well advanced, and hee was to have a long march he could not, and ſo marched away, which Calander ſeeing ſpoke to the Officers and Souldiours, willing them to repair to their ſtandards in order, but none almoſt or very few did, though he aſſured them that he would die with his armes in his hand, after ſuch misfortune, rather then Capitulate, yet what ever he ſaid, was little regarded, and becauſe the Duke was abſent no man obeyed, at laſt he told them, that ſuch as had a minde to show themſelves men, for the credit of their Countrey, might march along with him, and thoſe that were ill mounted and had a minde to treat, might ſtay with the Duke, but few offered to ſtirre, ſo that he rode after Sir Marmaduck alone, to show him how things ſtood, and take leave of him, comming back he found ſome Officers ſent from the Duke, to deſire his return for conſultation, and the Duke gave order that a partie ſhould be ſent back to Utoxater, whither the Army might return, and there deliberate of what ſhould be done, to that effect the Lord Levinſtoun was ſent, and Calander viſited all the avenues and barricaded them, poſing guards every where, then orders beeing given, for all Officers to repair to the Duke, Hee then deſired Calander to go and adviſe with them what was moſt expedient, thereupon Calander asked him

whither to march, or to fight, he was ready to obey, but if it were to Capitulate he abſolutely diſclamed it, and ſo went to his quarter, where he inſtantly gave order to the diſmounted men, and Stragglers of the Foot, to go to the Church-yard, and that all Officers that were quartered in the Town, ſhould bring thither ſuch armes as could be found there, for arming of them These Officers who were aſſembled by the Dukes order having delivered there opinions, when Calander came back, the Duke told him they had found it fit to ſend a trumpet to the Enemy, but Calander replyed that he diſaſſented from ſuch a baſe way, and therefore would give no advice, nor adhere to their Treaty, neither be included into it, but rather die like a man of honour, fighting if he could finde but ten men, to share in his fortune with him, the Duke notwithſtanding ſent out a Trumpet, and in a short while after, ſome Troupers drew up on the markat-place before his lodging (which certainly was not done without the knowledge of ſome chief Officers,) for when Calander went out to ſpeak to them, they were not ſo well inſtrncted as afterwards, till putting them in minde of the Oath he made unto them the night before never to leave them, if they would play the part of gallant men, but that he would upon no condition Capitulate, chooſing rather to run the uttermoſt hazard of his life with honour, then condeſcend to ſo baſe a way of Treaty, if otherwayes he could not eſcape the hands of his Enemies, at length they ſeemed to be a little ſatisfied, ſo he retnrned to the Dukes lodging, and Colonell Lockhart was ſent down to diſmiſſe them, but toward the evening, their number increaſed and ſeaſing upon Calanders Horſe and armes, they would not ſuffer him to go out of the Dukes lodging, but keept him there priſoner, nor were any of his ſervants permitted to come near him, but before that uproar began, aſſoon as it was concluded by the Duke, and the other Officers to ſend and Capitulate, the trumpet beeing gone, Major Gib and another were ſent as Oſtages. In the evening the trumpet came back, and one of the Enemies with him, who found us

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in this poſture of munity, and that encreaſing hourly, (it was then clear moon-shine) when they roſe to ſuch a heigth that they releived the guards, which the Leivetenaut General had poſed, ſent up 2 or 3 of their nnmber to the Dukes chamber, with their armes in their hands, as Commiſſioners from the reſt, which he ſeeing, declared to them that he had no minde to leave them, and ſpoke unto the whole body upon the market place, out at a window, the Enemies trumpet who was in the next room heard all, Calander incenſed with that ſcurvy dealling, told that ſuch baſe way of detaining him priſoner was not the meanes to get good quarters, beſide the diſhonour of it, Whereupon ſome words paſt betwixt the Duke and him, upon his averring of the ſame, as they ſate down to Supper, he ſtill telling him he would not adhere to any Treaty but die ſooner, if he could not otherwiſe eſcape, and that they would repent and quite their poſts if the Enemy did once approach. at laſt after diverſe falſe alarmes that night, toward the morning they had one for certain of the Enemies advance, which made theſe mutiniers abandon the market-place, rerurning ſome of the Earle of Calanders horſes, and armes unto his quarter, at which time the Duke beeing in his naked bed, Calander took horſe with ſome few Officers, and viſited all the poſts; where there was yet no ſight of the Enemy, after having told the Duke, that he would upon no condition Capitulate, and that ſo often before, but particularlie when the Lord Kenmoore parted when it was alſo time for him to be gone, as any judicious man may think, ſeeing the duke had Capitulate, and ſent out Oſtages, and ſo with his Nephew the Lord Levingſton, & ſome others he went away leaving the Duke to his Treaty, but as he came about a quarter of a mile from the Town, he was told by certain Officers, and ſome Country people, that order was given from ſome Officers at Utoxater to barricade the end of the lane, whereby neither Officer nor Souldiour might eſcape that way, and drawing up thoſe Troupers that came with him, he again told them as before he had done, that all ſuch as

were ill mounted or had a minde to Capitulate, might return to the Duke, and though he had no guide yet notwithſtanding holding faſt to his firſt reſolution he would take his hazard, and then riding on with the number of ſixſcore horſe or thereabout, Himſelf took the charge of one third part, giving another to the Lord Levingſtoun, and the third to be commanded by Colonell Keyth, brother to the Earle Marshall, paſt through Asburn, intending to follow Sir Marmaduck Langdall; but there he was informed of his disbanding of his people, and marching on further, came amongſt hills, where the Countrey people roſe in armes upon him, and there by reaſon many horſes loſt their shooes with ſo long marching, diverſe were taken priſoners, Colonell Keyth with the firſt, by ſome of the troupes of Darby, but marching on ſtill toward Cheſterfield, about the evening beeing within a mile and a half of the Town, intending to have paſt through it, and there halting to know whether there were any of the Enemy quartered, night fell on, and the Countrey all about, firing to give notice of us, we were informed that ſome troupes were come there, and before we could get on horſe-back, a partie of foot fell upon us, which we repulſed killing ſome, and ſo marcht away, (it beeing very dark) to the right hand toward Bolſover, the Lord Levingſtoun having the Rear, with Major Drummond and other Officers before we came near Bolſover loſt their way, we then halting upon a heath, and miſſing them, beeing very few in number, our horſes extreamly wearied, the Earle of Calander marched back a mile, to ſee if he could learn any thing of them, whom not finding, (and it beeing very rainie weather) hee intended notwithſtanding (if he could) to march to Pomfret. But being miſled by the guide he then had, thoſe few Officers which were remaining, aſſoon as it was day, (the Countrey beeing full of the enemies Troupes,) thought it fitteſt every man to ſhift for himſelf, and ſo we parted, recommending one another

ther to the protection of God, and I took my own way, not doubting but that ſame providence which had brought mee ſo far in an Unfortunate journey, would yet bring me out of danger, bnt what befell me in my taking afterwards, and my priſon, (from which I am now by the grace of God got free) before I found Scots ground to go upon, Shall bee the Subject of your next entertaynment.

And now, to conclude all our misfortunes, and end this tedious diſcourſe, I shall briefly tell you, that after all the difficulties, oppoſitions, and delayes, in the levying of the Army in Scotland, our ſlow march at our entry into England, wanting proviſion, and waiting for the cannon and ammunition, the not joyning of the Forces from Ireland, and the Dukes falling short of Preſton, (giving the enemy a fair opportunity to fall in betwixt the horſe and the foot) then the leaving of the ammunition, was the loſſe of the foot. the tampering to Capitulate diſcouraged the horſemen, and the Dukes deſign to treat, after ſo many great overſights, together with the mutiny at Utoxater, loſt the horſe shamefully, when they might have been ſaved to recover a new Army of foot again; And thus craving you pardon for my prolixity, and detaining you ſo long in a diſcourſe which could not be contracted in fewer words, when the full and plain Truth was to bee told, I here take my leave, what reſts concerning my ſelf, and our other Friends, you shall hear at another occaſion from,

Your Servant.

Edinburgh, 2 of October.